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368 [361] [764] Somewhere in the outskirts of the village are the public baths and the cemetery, a neglected field overgrown with weeds and decaying bamboo altars, with its temple of the Dead (c) and its mournful *kepuh* tree, a sad and eerie place. The bathing-place is generally a cool spot shaded by clusters of bamboo in the river that runs near the village, where all day long men and women bathe in the brown water in separate modest groups. Some villages have special bathing-places with fancy water-spouts and low walls of carved stone, with separate compartments for men and women. Tedjakula in North Bali is famous for its horse bath, a [231] special compartment that is larger and even more elaborate than the baths for the people.

THE MARKET

366 443 Important towns have great utilitarian markets of cement and galvanized tin where shrewd Arabs and Chinese keep regular shops of cloth and imported knick-knacks, but the average *desa* holds market under the shadow of the *waringin* or under square shades of straw mats like umbrellas. A few people sell there every 443 day; the " big " market takes place every third day of the religious calendar. There are " market associations " organized in groups of three *desas* that work together, holding market in rotation every day in each of the three villages. The women are the [462] financiers that control the market; one seldom sees men in it, except in certain trades or to help carry such a load as a fat pig. Even the money-changers are women, who sit behind little tables [436] filled with rolls of small change, *kepeng*, Chinese brass coins with a hole in the middle, worth a small fraction of a cent (about five to seven to a cent according to the current exchange). These coins are strung into rolls of two hundred, called *satak* (one string of twenty-five cents). Prices in the market vary according 435 to the buyer; they are lowest to the villager in his home town, 443 slightly higher for the Balinese of other villages, and considerably higher to foreigners. This is customary and understandable if one takes into consideration the communal spirit of the village

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and of the Balinese. It is significant that an average meal in the market costs a Balinese only twenty-five *kepeng* or about two or three American cents. The Balinese do not count in the present Dutch monetary system of guilders and cents; among themselves they use only the smallest unit, the *kepeng*, and the largest, the *ringgit*, big silver coins (worth two and a half guilders) that are normally divided into 1,200 *kepeng*. The Balinese cannot visualize a foreigner using *kepengs* and when I bought peanuts or a banana at a food-stand and they did not have Dutch pennies for change, the women vendors were amused to see me pocket a heavy string of *kepengs*. Accustomed to dealing in hundreds and thousands, they have acquired a surprising knowledge of mathematics, and the women can add, subtract, multiply, or divide with the speed of an adding machine. To test this ability we used to ask the women of our household for multiplications of numbers of several ciphers; with mysterious operations of a few *kepengs* spread on their laps, they always found a quick and accurate result.

The market reaches its height about noon, when it is hard to walk through the crowd of semi-nude women. At that time the animation is very great and the market resounds with the excited bargaining, the constant coming and going of people, and the squealing of the pigs that are mercilessly stuffed into baskets or carried in the arms of the women like babies. The thousand smells of coconut oil, flowers, spices, and dried fish combine to make the pungent smell so characteristic of Balinese markets. The soft browns and yellows of the women's skirts and the bright-coloured sashes they wear, the graceful movements and unconscious beauty of their poses, make of the market a show as interesting to watch as their luxurious and spectacular feasts. The excitement subsides gradually in the late afternoon, when the women return home loaded with the merchandise they have bought or with the empty baskets balanced on one corner, in the most absurd defiance of the laws of gravity, by the heavy strings of *kepengs* that record the day's sales. Most markets have a

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576 question with monosyllables, and one should not point with the index finger. It is better to use the words for the cardinal points to indicate direction, but if one must point, it should be done with the thumb, holding the rest of the hand closed.

574 431 The Balinese are constantly paying visits to one another, but no one would dream of making a formal visit without bringing along a gift of some sort: fruit, rice, eggs, or chickens, given casually and received without a word of thanks. It is taken for granted that the present is appreciated by the acceptance of it, but if one wants to be over-polite, one says: "*Tiang nunás*, I want it" or "I like it" (*idéh* in the common language). An object is handed with the right hand while touching the elbow with the left, and it is received with the same gesture.

431 123 The gift-problem became acute for us as we entered into a competition with our friends and neighbours for more and more valuable presents. Someone would arrive with a basket of eggs or rice; we repaid the visit taking a cheap head-cloth. On the next visit they came with piles of fruit and even live chickens, so we had to rush to the market to buy a batik shirt or a bottle of Javanese perfume. We generally ended by exchanging brocades, krisses, and so forth for pieces of silk, flashlights, and fountain pens. The Balinese are very much concerned with the price paid [435] for an object, and they always insisted on knowing what we paid for a present, until we realized that it was a great mistake to remove the price tags. When we bought new glasses or new plates, Dog, our house-boy, washed them carefully around the label so as not to rub off the price.

574 [292] [177] It is necessary to be properly dressed to pay or to receive a visit. The breasts of men and women should be covered by a special breast-cloth, a *saput* for men and a *selendang* for women. People in the house always dashed for their breast-cloth, usually an ordinary foreign towel, when a special guest arrived. Immediately the visitor was provided with green coconuts to quench his thirst, with cigarettes and betel-nut. Up-to-date Balinese like to offer soda-pop, coffee and Chinese pastries. The chewing of

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and heirlooms in the form of gold jewellery, a kris with a gold sheath and handle set with precious stones and a number of silver or gold vessels, all of which can be pawned in one of the Government pawnshops in case of need. 556 511

In general the Balinese have little need of cash to procure the daily necessities of life. Normally the cost of living is extremely low and food and the requirements for shelter are produced by the Balinese themselves. A meal in a public eating-place may cost as much as twenty cents, but, having rice, the cash expense for food for an entire family in the home amounts only to a few pennies, perhaps only enough to buy salt and spices. Fruit and vegetables are grown in the gardens adjoining the house; pigs, chickens, and ducks are raised at home to be killed on special occasions or for offerings which the people themselves eat after the gods have consumed the essence. Fuel consists of the fallen dry leaves and stems of the coconut trees. 511

The housing-problem is simple. Entire families live together in ancestral compounds, and a modest house can be built almost overnight out of bamboo and thatch at a very low cost. People without means or without a house simply go to live with a relative, " sharing a kitchen " in exchange for small services and assistance in the general housework, or procure land from the village and gradually build their own household. The daily clothing consists of a *kamben*, a piece of cotton worn like a skirt, and a head-cloth, with an added shirt or blouse in the more " modern " districts. A complete ordinary outfit of clothes costs about two guilders ($1.36 at the time of writing): one guilder for the skirt, fifty cents for the headpiece and fifty cents more for the shirt. Amusements are free and transportation is mainly by foot, leaving medicines and luxuries to be bought for cash. 362 511 291 511 [435]

It was always a mystery to us how the Balinese made the money they seemed to spend so lavishly in extravagant festivals and in beautiful clothes. They never appeared to work regularly for wages, and outside of the market, in which alone business was transacted, they never seemed interested in commerce. The men 511 434

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533 621 bandjar, and they will reorganize their gamelan at once — everybody helping with equal enthusiasm. The old instruments are returned, new frames are made, and all the missing pieces are replaced.

To organize a new musical club a community first selects a head man and a treasurer. The new musicians are chosen from among the young men of the bandjar, who are directed by others with musical experience. It is an honour to belong to such a group, and the members are not paid, but themselves contribute, in whatever way they can, to the acquisition of the instruments. In the group there are even men who do not play, but who are content to carry the instruments from place to place.

533 534 621 [435] The cost of a fine set of instruments often amounts to quite a fortune. The estimated value of the gong Belaluan was put at about fifteen hundred guilders. The actual monetary expenses were paid in instalments, and even after four years of profitable playing for the hotel, there still remained four hundred guilders unpaid. Of this apparently exaggerated figure a considerable part goes to buy a good set of large gongs, which are no longer made and are now a rarity and at a premium. The Balinese can make the bars of the metallophones, but the large gongs came from Java, from Semarang, where the last great makers of gongs lived. The richly carved frames of teakwood covered with pure goldleaf are also expensive. In former times it was a favourite hobby of the princes to form large orchestras and play in them themselves, but they are not quite so prosperous now, and today the organizations are more often independent, and it is the community that owns the orchestra. In Bali the orchestra consists of the set of instruments rather than of a group of musicians who own their instruments, as it is understood among us. In their zeal for improvement, the group of Belaluan went even further; fine costumes were made for the players and a special house was built to store the instruments, a shed for rehearsals. They even undertook to finance the repairs of the little temple of the bandjar, a

[292] [349] 533 621

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CHAPTER XI

DEATH AND CREMATION

STRANGE AS IT SEEMS, it is in their cremation ceremonies that the Balinese have their greatest fun. A cremation is an occasion for gaiety and not for mourning, since it represents the accomplishment of their most sacred duty: the ceremonial burning of the corpses of the dead to liberate their souls so that they can thus attain the higher worlds and be free for reincarnation into better beings.

At cremation ceremonies hundreds of people in a wild stampede carry the beautiful towers, sixty feet high, solidly built of wood and bamboo and decorated with tinsel and expensive silks, in which the bodies are transported to the cremation grounds. There the corpses are placed in great cows (hewn out of tree-trunks to serve as coffins and covered with precious materials), and cows, towers, offerings, and ornaments are set on fire, hundreds and even thousands of dollars burned in one afternoon in a mad splurge of extravagance by a people who value the necessities of life in fractions of pennies.

To the Balinese, the material body is only the shell, the container of the soul. This soul lives in every part of the body, even in the hair and nails, but it is concentrated in the head which is near-holy to them. A Balinese observes the rank of his head in relation to the rest of his body, and for this reason no one

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764 A good average for a great cremation is seldom less than a
435 thousand *ringgits* or about two million *kepengs* (a *ringgit* is worth
[436] about one gold dollar in normal exchange), but there have been cremations of princes that cost as much as fifty thousand guilders (at the time of writing, about twenty-five thousand dollars).

The cremation of the mother of Naséh, a former servant of ours, was the poorest we ever witnessed. She was burned three days after her death with only the most essential rites, but even then the costs amounted to more than the fifty guilders that Naséh had succeeded in borrowing. A unique and rather improvised cremation of a nobleman of Pemetjutan cost only three hundred and fifty guilders because the body had to be burned on the same day the death occurred and I was told by the relatives that had the corpse been kept for the reglementary forty-two days, the cremation would have cost over two thousand guilders. The extraordinary decision to cremate a man of high
[796] caste immediately became possible only because the festival that the community was preparing for, their greatest in a decade, could not have taken place had there been an important uncremated corpse in the village. The family was in difficult financial circumstances and they welcomed the decision.

[793] A Brahmanic priest is essential to a proper cremation, and only the destitute would call upon a lesser priest. The quality of the ceremonies the priest performs is determined by the fee paid to him. There is a choice of three kinds of cremation: *utama*, the highest, costing an average of fifty dollars in fees for the priest alone; *madia*, the medium-class cremation, for about twenty-five dollars; and *nista*, the low, for about five dollars. The rites for each are about the same, the difference consisting in the quality and power of the magic formulas and symbols and the sort of holy water used, the credentials given by the priest to the soul entering heaven, and the more or less thorough purification of the soul.

564 It is always a good resource, in a great cremation of a prince,
764 to provide a retinue of souls for his trip into the beyond and to